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LOBBY REGISTRATIONS FOR 1960 DROP SHARPLY

The number of persons and organizations registering as lobbyists on Capitol Hill during the first nine months of 1960 dropped to a figure little more than half the total recorded in 1959.

Between Jan. 1 and Oct. 15, 1960, only 225 lobby registrations were filed with Congress under the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, compared to 393 during the previous year. This brought the total number of persons and groups registering under the Act during the first 15 years of its existence to 5,761.

With only the last 2½ months remaining in the year, a period during which lobby activity on Capitol Hill is virtually at a standstill, the 1960 lobby registration figure almost certainly will be the lowest since 1952, when 204 registrations were filed. It represents a drop of 43 percent from the 1959 total, easily the biggest single-year decline ever recorded. The greatest one-year total of lobby registrations, 731, was recorded in the first full year the lobby law was in effect, 1947. (See box)

Lobby Law

The lobby law was enacted by Congress in 1946 to keep tabs on the hundreds of pressure groups at work in the National Capital. It requires any person who "shall engage himself for pay or for any other consideration" for the purpose of attempting to influence the passage or defeat of federal legislation to register with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate.

The 15-year total of registrations that has been filed under the law does not represent an accurate picture of the number of lobbyists and lobby organizations currently active in Washington, however. There are two reasons

First, the Act does not require a lobbyist to withdraw his registration when he ceases to be actively engaged in pressuring Congress. Many of the persons who have registered under the Act have since moved into other fields or have died. Also, some of the organizations who have registered as lobby groups were set up to work for or against a specific piece of legislation and remained active only as long as their particular legislative interests were alive. A recent example of such a group was the Mutual Life Insurance Companies' Temporary Committee on Taxation which was organized in 1958 and was active during the nine months of 1959 while Congress was considering legislation revising the formula for taxing the income of insurance companies. Official reports indicated the group spent over \$140,000 during the 1959 session of Congress and went out of existence after the legislation it had been backing was signed into law.

Another reason for some of the confusion regarding the actual number of lobbyists active in Washington at any given time is the fact that some lobbyists have registered two or more times; usually they file new registrations each time they are employed by a different organization. Former Sen. Scott W. Lucas (DIII. 1939-51), for example, filed a lobby registration June 17, 1960, listing as his

Registration Totals

The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946 requires the registration of all persons attempting to influence federal legislation. The year-by-year breakdown of all registrations (including duplications) since the law was enacted:

Year	Registrations	Year	Registrations
1946*	222	1954	413
1947	731	1955	383
1948	447	1956	347
1949	559	1957	392
1950	430	1958	337
1951	342	1959	393
1952	204	1960**	225
1953	296	TOTAL	5,761

^{*}Last four months only.

employer Group Hospitalization Inc. It was the 27th organization Lucas has represented and the 31st registration he has filed since moving from the Senate to the 'Third House' of Congress.

The total of 5,761 registrations filed during the 15year history of the Act actually represents only 4,085 different lobbyists and pressure groups. Of the 225 registrations filed during 1960, only 130 were from persons and groups who had never registered before.

Of the 4,085 unduplicated registrations, 3,417 were from individuals, 201 from law and public relations firms and 467 from organizations. The 130 new registrations in 1960 included 89 individuals, 11 law and public relations firms and 30 organizations.

Legislative Goals

The Lobby Act requires persons and groups filing registration forms with Congress to state on the forms their legislative interests. Although the law calls for detailed statements, most registrants respond with broad generalities. A labor union, for example, probably would give as its legislative interest: "legislation affecting union members;" a rail association might say: "legislation of interest to the rail industry;" a scientists' organization registering in 1960 said it was interested in "all legislation of interest to the scientific community.

In reporting on registered lobbyists and groups Congressional Quarterly has devised eight broad categories which reflect the registrants' general legislative interests: business, citizens, farm, foreign, individuals, labor, professional and veterans. Of the 225 registrations filed between Jan. 1-Oct. 15, 1960, 134 fell into the business category; 25 into the citizens category; eight were interested in farm legislation; 11 fell into the foreign category; 13 represented individual interests;

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^{**} From Ian, 1 through Oct. 15.

22 were classified in the labor category; seven were considered professional; and five were interested in vet-

erans' legislation.

Judging by the number of registrations, the busiest lobbyist during 1960 was a Washington attorney, James W. Riddell. Riddell registered as an agent for a group called the Entertainment Law Committee, for the State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Co., the First National Bank of New York and for the American Industrial Bankers Assn. A Washington law firm, Chapman, Wolfsohn and Friedman, also registered for four different organizations during the first nine months of the year. Listed by the firm as employers were the Hawaiian Botanical Gardens Foundation, Camera Nacional de la Industria Pesquera of Mexico (the Mexican Government's Bureau of Fisheries), the West Marin, Calif. Property Owners Assn., and the Camera Minera de Mexico (the Mexican Bureau of Mines).

Among groups listed as employers by lobbyists registering during 1960, the names of two appeared more frequently than any other. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, with headquarters in Kansas City, Mo., enlisted the services of four widely scattered labor representatives, one each from Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland and St. Augustine, Fla. Each listed his legislative interest as

'legislation affecting railroad employees.'

The only other group appearing on as many as four registration forms was the American Industrial Bankers Assn. of Washington. The banking group hired the services of each of the partners of the Washington law firm of Dawson, Griffin, Pickens and Riddell. Each of the attorneys listed his legislative interest as "legislation affecting the banking industry."

Principal Lobby Drives

The 1960 session of Congress was the battleground for much highly controversial legislation and pressure groups undoubtedly played an important part in the outcome of such issues as health care for the aged, minimum wage coverage, increased pay for federal employees, civil rights, U.S. adherence to the World Court, area redevelopment, federal aid to education and agricultural production controls. But a study of the lobby registrations that were filed during the time when the big Washington pressure groups were concentrating on these issues fails to indicate any unusual lobbying activity. Most of the persons and groups that did register during 1960 played little or no part in the big lobby campaigns of the year and, conversely, very few of the organizations which were most active were represented on the list of 1960 registrations. For example, The American Medical Assn., which spearheaded the drive against legislation to provide free health insurance to social security beneficiaries, increased its registered lobbyists by only two. The pair who registered as agents for the AMA identified themselves as Roy T. Lester, AMA's Washington office manager, and Paul R.M. Donelan, legislative attorney. Both said they were interested in "all bills (Senate and House) relating to health and welfare." Neither indicated clearly what his compensation would be or how much he intended to spend on lobbying -- questions that are asked of each registrant but answered by very few.

Among groups opposing the AMA's position on health insurance for the elderly were the AFL-CIO and various organizations composed of persons over 65, such as the Golden Ring Clubs in several states. The AFL-CIO for years has maintained a large number of registered lobbyists, many of whom worked on the health care bill. But no lobbyist has ever registered for the Golden Ring Clubs. The Aug. 24 issue of the Wall Street Journal reported that, while the Senate was considering health insurance legislation, two busloads of members of Golden Ring Clubs converged on Capitol Hill to try to persuade certain uncommitted Senators to vote for the social security plan. Presumably, all, or at least some, of these lobbyists should have registered with Congress but none did.

The influential postal lobby used a similar tactic -rushing people into Washington as a show of strength for their position -- at the climax of their successful drive for a pay raise for federal and postal employees. The postal lobby consists of the Washington representatives of the 125,000-man National Assn. of Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO) and about a dozen other postal and federal employee unions. After Congress had passed and the President had vetred the desired legislation, the NALC put into effect "operation override" under which postal workers from all over the country were brought to the Capi al to line up the two-thirds vote in both Chambers necessary to override a Presidential veto. At the time the vote to override was taken, the galleries were jammed with uniformed letter carriers and clerks. The postal workers and about 1 million other federal employees got their pay raise, but not one new registration from the postal lobby was filed with Congress during 1960.

One interest group that lobbied hard during 1960 and did show up in the lobby registrations was the largely foreign-based sugar lobby. In an effort to get some of the American market that was left after the Cuban sugar quota was cut, organizations from Brazil, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Peru hired Washington lobbyists to take their case to Congress. An agency of the Cuban government also registered, apparently to

get some of its quota back.

Ex-Congressmen

Some of the most effective lobbying in Washington is performed by a small group of men who should know all about how to pass a bill -- men who themselves have served in Congress. Two new ex-Congressmen-lobbyists, former Rep. John V. Beamer (R Ind. 1951-59) and former Sen. Charles E. Potter (R Mich. 1951-59), registered in 1960, bringing to 79 the total nuhber of those who have gone from passing laws to influencing them. Beamer registered as a representative of the Fine Hardwoods Assn., a Chicago organization; Potter registered as executive director of the Committee of American Tank Owners at a salary of \$25,000 -- \$2,500 more than he made as a Senator.

Other former Members of Congress who registered in 1960 but who also had registered in previous years were ex-Sen. Lucas, representing Group Hospitalization Inc.; ex-Rep. Fritz G. Lanham (D Texas 1919-47), who registered for Quality Brands Associates of America; and ex-Rep. Robert Hale (R Maine 1942-59), who said he would lobby for the Wisconsin Avenue Committee on Transportation Problems, a group of Washington (D.C.) citizens up in arms over the traffic problem in the Nation's Capital. (For more on Congressmen turned-lobbyist, see 1959 Almanac p. 687)

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEW HOUSE MEMBERS FROM WEST

CALIFORNIA

Alphonso E. Bell Jr. (R), 16th District

Alphonzo E. Bell Jr., 46, beat a former political aide of Vice President Richard M. Nixon's, Murray Chotiner, 33,551 to 12,225 to gain the Republican nomination for the 16th District House seat being vacated by retiring Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R 1947-61). He led his general election opponent, Jerry E. Pacht (D), 79,075 to 64,259, according to unofficial, complete returns.

Bell was also a strong supporter of Nixon's and is a former California state and Los Angeles County Republican chairman. He is a rancher and has real estate and petroleum interests. He is chairman of the board of the Bell Petroleum Co, and a past member of the advisory board of the Small Business Administration.

Bell was born in Los Angeles Sept. 19, 1914, and now makes Beverly Hills his home. He was graduated from Occidental College in 1938. He served in the Air Force in World War II. He is married and has one son. He is a Presbyterian.

James C. Corman (D), 22nd District

James C. Corman, 40, had the help of retiring Rep. Joe Holt (R) in defeating Republican Lemoine Blanchard for Holt's 22nd District seat in California. Corman was unopposed in the primary whereas Blanchard had eight opponents. In the campaign Holt did not endorse Blanchard and his picture taken with Corman was widely used by the Democrats. Holt carried the district by better than 55 percent in each of the four campaigns he won beginning in 1952; Corman received 51.4 percent of the vote (101,615 votes to 96,067) according to complete, unofficial returns.

Corman has been a member of the Los Angeles city council since 1958. This was his only previous campaign for public office.

Corman was born Oct. 20, 1920, in Galena, Kansas, but now lives in Van Nuys, Calif., a part of Los Angeles. He was graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles and from University of Southern California law school. He was in the Marines 1942-46 and 1950-52. He is married and has two children. He is a Methodist.

John H. Rousselot (R), 25th District

John H, Rousselot, 31, beat freshman incumbent Rep. George A. Kasem (D) after taking on three well-known opponents in the California 25th District primary. In the general election Rousselot received 174,792 votes to 155,145 for Kasem, according to complete, unofficial returns.

Rousselot, a public relations consultant, is not new to politics or public life. He is a former director of public information for the Federal Housing Administration and has held numerous local Republican offices including two years on the Republican state central committee. He owns his own public relations firm.

Rousselot was born Nov. 1, 1929, in Los Angeles but now lives in San Gabriel. He was graduated from Principia College in Elsah, Ill. He is married with three young children. He is a Christian Scientist.

COLORADO

Peter H. Dominick (R), 2nd District

Peter H. Dominick, 45, in 1960 won back to the Republican party the 2nd District Colorado seat Rep. Byron L. Johnson (D 1959-61) had won in 1958 as the first Democrat in 20 years from northeastern Colorado. Dominick took 149,000 of the unofficial vote total with Johnson taking 109,417. The two had met once before, in a two-out-of-four race for two seats in the Colorado house of representatives in 1954; Johnson won and Dominick lost.

Dominick was elected to the Colorado house in 1956 and 1958, however. While there, the press elected him best freshman legislator and, in his second term, most effective house Republican. He was chairman of a subcommittee on urban renewal.

During his campaign Dominick firmly opposed what he called over-reliance on Washington. He said each federal program should undergo examination to see: "Is it necessary, in the interest of the country, to conduct this program at all and can it be done more efficiently and economically at local-state levels?" He was "for civil rights legislation" and listed "preservation of individual initiative and freedoms" as a leading campaign issue.

Dominick is an attorney. He is a member of the national commission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Dominick was born July 7, 1915, in Stamford, Conn. He now lives in Englewood, Colo. He was graduated from Yale University in 1937 and Yale law school in 1940. He served four years in the Army Air Corps in World War II. He is married with four children. He is a member of the Christ Episcopal Church.

IDAHO

Ralph R. Harding (D), 2nd District

Ralph R. Harding, 31, defeated incumbent Rep. Hamer H. Budge (R 1951-61) after being unopposed in his party's primary. Democrats had been eating away Budge's election margins in recent elections; while Budge took 55 percent of the vote in 1958, Harding had 51.1 percent of the 1960 vote according to incomplete, unofficial returns -- 90,078 to 86,238.

Harding, a comptroller, has said the United States "needs" an annually balanced budget. In his campaign he also supported federal assistance to fight water pollution, help for the family-size farm, federal aid to education when state and local funds are insufficient, labor's right to organize and bargain collectively and a role for the Federal Government as arbitrator in labor disputes.

Harding served in the Idaho house of representatives 1956-58. Until resigning to conduct his campaign, he was comptroller of the American Potato Co. for three years.

Harding was born Sept. 9, 1929, in Malad City, Idaho. He now lives in Blackfoot. He has a B.S. in political science from Brigham Young University and took graduate work in accounting. He served in the army 1951-53, rising from private to lieutenant. He is married and has three children. He is a Mormon.

MONTANA Arnold Olsen (D), 1st District

Arnold Olsen, 44, took over the seat of Rep. Lee Metcalf (D 1953-61), who was elected to the Senate. Metcalf's election percentage rose from 50.3 in 1952 to 69.5 in 1958; Olsen took 53.1 percent of the vote after winning a four-way primary struggle for the nomination, Olsen taking 61,523 votes to 54,263 for George P. Sarsfield (R) according to incomplete returns.

Olsen was undoubtedly aided in his campaign by his previous races for state office. He was Montana's attorney general 1949-57 and run unsuccessfully for Covernor against Gov. J. Hugo Aronson (R) in 1956 and as a nonpartisan candidate for chief justice of the supreme court in 1958. Olsen has law practices in both Helena and Butte, the latter going since 1940.

Olsen campaigned on a "liberal" program in some ways resembling Metcalf's positions. He emphasized economy in the Federal Government, conservation of natural resources and stressed the need for federal assistance to Montana.

Olsen was born Dec. 17, 1916, in Butte; he now lives in Helena. He attended Montana School of Mines 1934-36 and was graduated from Montana University law school in 1940. He served in the Navy 1942-45. A Methodist, he is married and has three daughters.

James F. Battin (R), 2nd District

James F. Battin, 35, won election with 51.5 percent of the vote of Montana's 2nd District, returning it to the Republican fold from whence it strayed with the election of Rep. Leroy Anderson (D 1957-1961) in 1956. Anderson retired in 1960, losing a primary try for the Democratic Senatorial nomination. Battin, who was unopposed in the GOP primary, led Leo Graybill Jr. (D) 77,288 to 72,720 according to incomplete returns.

Battin served one term in the Montana house of representatives just before running for the U.S. House. He is a member of a Billings law firm. He has served in a number of city and county offices as well as heading a number of civic activities. Battin listed as chief campaign issues of 1960: "World peace, excessive government, high taxation and farm program."

Battin was born Feb. 13, 1925, in Wichita, Kansas. His family moved to Montana in 1929 and he is now a resident of Billings. He joined the Navy in World War II, right after he was graduated from high school, and served three years. On his discharge he took a pre-law course at Eastern Montana State Teachers College and then was graduated from George Washington University law school in Washington, D.C., in 1951. Battin is a member of the Congregational Church. He is married and has two daughters.

OREGON Edwin R. Durno (R), 4th District

Dr. Edwin R. Durno, 61, a retired physician, withstood a vigorous campaign by incumbent Rep. Charles O. Porter (D 1957-61) to win Oregon's 4th District House seat 91,133 to 87,863 according to incomplete returns.

Durno had practiced medicine in Medford, Ore., for more than 30 years. He served for 12 years, by gubernatorial appointment of four governors, on the state board of medical examiners. His single previous campaign for public office was for the state senate in 1958. He won He served in the Medical Corps in World War II after having been in the infantry in World War I.

Durno was born Jan. 26, 1899, near Albany, Ore.; he now lives in Medford with his wife and one of their three daughters. Durno has three grandchildren. He was graduated from the University of Oregon in 1921 after having been Oregon's first member of the All-American Basketball team in 1921. He was graduated cum laude from Harvard's inedical school in 1927. Durno is a Protestant.

UTAH M. Blaine Peterson (D), 1st District

M. Blaine Peterson, 54, won a seat in the House of Representatives on his second try, after Rep. Henry Aldous Dixon (R 1955-61), who beat Peterson in 1958, retired. Peterson had 46.1 percent of the 1958 vote against Dixon but won in 1960 with just over 50 percent, a 64 vote margin of an unofficial total of 131,586 votes. The vote was 65,825 for Peterson to 65,761 for A. Walter Stevenson (R).

Peterson was a member of the Utah house of representatives 1955-57. He served on the revenue and taxation, judiciary and education committees and was chairman of a legislative council subcommittee on health, welfare and education. A lawyer, he has taken many mining cases in the uranium areas of southern Utah.

Born in Ogden, Utah, which he still calls home, Peterson spent 1926-29 in Germany as a missionary for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and 1933-38 in Washington, D.C., attending Georgetown University Law School.

Peterson was born March 26, 1906. He attended Weber College and was graduated from the University of Utah. He is married and has four children and one grandchild. He was Weber county attorney for eight years.

WASHINGTON Julia B. Hansen (D), 3rd District

Julia B. Hansen, 53, Nov. 8 became the only woman freshman Representative and the first Democrat since 1947 to represent Washington's 3rd District, Rep. Russell V. Mack (R 1947-60), who died March 28, consistently ran ahead of the Democratic ticket in the District, Mrs. Hansen beat Dale M. Nordquist (R) 68,945 to 59,298 according to incomplete returns.

Among Mrs. Hansen's campaign statements: "Federal funds must be spent (for education) in accordance with the needs of states, with no strings attached.... I

strongly oppose so-called 'right to work' laws Increase farm credit, protect farmers from rising feed costs, end the 'Benson and bankruptcy' farm plans. We must create a market to absorb farm surpluses by raising the nation's nutritional standards.... Economic growth of the West depends on improved transportation.... We must have comprehensive, planned, multiple-purpose development of land and water resources.... Personal diplomacy has The United Nations must be strengthened."

Mrs. Hansen has been a member of the Washington house of representatives since 1939. She was speaker pro tem in 1960. In the legislature she did much work in highway legislation and is chairman of the 13 Western states highway policies committee. She was on the education and library committee since 1939 and has served as chairman. Mrs. Hansen manages a title and insurance business and has authored a prize-winning children's book, "Singing Paddles."

Born Julia Butler July 14, 1907, in Portland, Oregon, Mrs. Hansen now makes her home in Cathlamet, She attended Oregon State College and was graduated from the University of Washington in 1930. A Christian Scientist, she is married to Henry Hansen and has one son.

WYOMING

William H. Harrison (R), At-Large

Ex-Rep. William H. Harrison (1951-55), 64, defeated in 1954 in a race for the U.S. Senate against Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D), in 1960 succeeded retiring Rep. Keith Thomson (R 1955-61) who successfully jumped from the House to a Senate seat. Harrison took 70,241 votes to 64,060 for Hepburn T. Armstrong (D), according to complete but unofficial returns.

In the House Harrison served on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee 1951-55 and on the Education and Labor Committee 1953-55. He was chairman of the Interior Committee Indian Affairs Subcommittee in 1953 and in 1954 was chairman of the Irrigation and Reclamation Subcommittee and a special subcommittee to study the operation of the Interior Department's Bureau of Indian Affairs. Harrison that year introduced a bill to begin elimination of federal supervision of Indian affairs.

As a freshman Member in 1951 Harrison signed a petition to remove Secretary of State Dean Acheson from office. He was a supporter of fuller federal irrigation projects.

Harrison voted on 88 percent of the roll calls in the 82nd Congress, 70 percent in the 83rd; he was on the record on 90 percent of the roll calls in the 82nd, 76 percent in the 83rd; he voted with his party on 95 percent of the roll calls on which a majority of his party took a position in opposition to the majority of Democrats in the 82nd Congress, 83 percent in the 83rd; he supported the President's position 49 percent of the time on rollcall votes and opposed it 22 percent of the time in the 83rd Congress.

Harrison has served as regional administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in charge of eight Southeastern states and as Congressional liaison for the

Harrison was born Aug. 10, 1896, in Terre Haute, Ind.: he lives in Sheridan, Wyo, He studied at the University of Nebraska School of Agriculture and has a law degree. He is both an attorney and engaged in farm operations. He served in World War I. He was a member of the Wyoming house of representatives 1945-51. Harrison is married and has two children and 10 grandchildren. He is a Protestant.

BIOGRAPHIES OF NEW HOUSE MEMBERS FROM EAST

CONNECTICUT Horace Seely-Brown Jr. (R), 2nd District

Ex-Rep. Horace Seely-Brown Jr., 52, (R 1947-49, 51-59) won a sixth term in the House by a 288-vote margin in Connecticut's perennial switch district. With 50.1 percent of the vote -- 93,509 to 93,221 in unofficial results -- he recaptured the 2nd District seat which he had lost by 9,835 votes to former Gov. Chester B. Bowles in 1958. Bowles withdrew from the 1960 race to devote full time to Sen. John F. Kennedy's Presidential campaign. Seely-Brown beat William St. Onge (D) in 1960.

Though the 2nd District has rarely given a winning candidate more than a three percent margin of victory, it gave Seely-Brown 59.1 percent of its votes in the Eisenhower landslide of 1956. He had won by 50.7 percent in 1954 and had been defeated by a 3.4 percent margin in his first reelection attempt in 1948. Bowles won 53.3 percent of the vote in 1958. To regain his seat in 1960, Seely-Brown conducted his usual campaign of distributing pot-holders door-to-door in the district.

In his five previous terms in the House, Seely-Brown served on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee in the 80th, 82nd 83rd and 84th Congresses and became a member of the Banking and Currency Committee in 1957. Assigned to the House Select Committee on Small Business since 1951, he served as chairman of its Subcommittee on Tax and Fiscal Problems and was particularly

interested in legislative proposals to give tax assistance and other relief to small businesses.

During his ten years in the House Seely-Brown also sponsored a number of bills to benefit veterans, including a proposal to recompense servicemen for costs incurred in transporting their families and goods in house trailers. He also opposed reducing protective tariffs on textile imports which would compete with textiles manufactured in New England.

Seely-Brown voted on 97 percent of the roll-calls in the 80th Congress, 93 percent in the 83rd, 95 percent in the 84th and 97 percent in the 85th. He was On the Record 97 percent of the time in the 80th and 82nd Congresses and 95, 96 and 98 percent of the time in the 83rd, 84th and 85th Congresses, respectively. Though he voted with his party on 93 percent of the 80th Congress roll calls on which a majority of Republicans opposed a maparity of Democrats, his party unity score fell to 52 percent for the 82nd Congress, 67 percent for the 83rd, 62 percent for the 84th and 50 percent for the 85th. He supported the President's position on 83 percent of the 83rd Congress roll call votes, 68 percent of the 84th votes and 79 percent of the time in the 85th Congress; in the same Congresses his scores in opposition to Eisenhower positions were 13 percent, 27 percent and 19 percent.

Born in Kensington, Md., May 12, 1908, and graduated from Hamilton College with a bachelor of science degree in 1929, he lives in Pomfret Center where he

headed the science department at Pomfret School from 1937 to 1943. He is a fruit farmer and veteran of Worlu War II. He is married and has three children.

Abner W. Sibal (R), 4th District

Abner W. Sibal, 39, brought Connecticut's traditionally Republican 4th District (Fairfield County)back to the GOP fold in 1960 by defeating incumbent Rep. Donald J. Irwin (D 1959-61) by 5,000 votes. Sibal won 51.5 percent -- 160,045 in unofficial returns -- of the 311,048 votes cast to end Irwin's hopes of winning a second term in a district which had not elected a Democrat since 1936 and had never reelected a Democrat in the 20th Century. Irwin won in the 1958 Democratic sweep of Connecticut by 4,261 votes, with 50.9 percent of those cast. He polled 151,003 votes in 1960.

During the campaign Sibal charged his opponent with belonging to the free-spending wing of the Democratic party. The Republican challenger supported a higher minimum wage, but opposed large-scale federal intervention in local or state problems, controls on the economy and an unbalanced budget. He charged the incumbent with "echoing the line of criticism which undermines the con-

fidence of Americans and our allies."

A two-term (1957-61) state senator and minority leader in the state senate for one term, Sibal, in a hard-fought July primary, won the right to oppose Irwin. Indorsed by the Republican congressional convention, he defeated ex-Rep. Albert P. Morano (R 1951-59), by 2,600 votes out of 31,500 cast in their battle for the GOP nomination. It was the first Republican Congressional primary ever held in the state and centered mainly on the issue of leadership. Sibal charged that Morano had been ineffectual and should step aside in favor of younger, more aggressive candidates.

An attorney, Sibal served as prosecuting attorney for Norwalk (1953-55) and as the city's corporation counsel beginning in 1959. Born April 11, 1921, in Ridgewood, N.Y., he was graduated from Wesleyan with an A.B. and from St. John's Law School with an LL.B., which he obtained after his three-and-a-half years of service in World War II. Married and the father of two children, he is a Congregationalist and resident of Norwalk.

MAINE

Peter A. Garland (R), 1st District

With an 11,396-vote majority -- a victory margin to which Maine's 1st District Republicans had grown unaccustomed after three close Congressional contests -- Peter A. Garland, 37, captured the district's House seat from incumbent Democratic Rep. James C. Oliver (R 1937-43, D 1959-61). Oliver had won the seat in 1958 by 4,455 votes after failing -- by only 111 votes -- to unseat the Republican incumbent in 1956. Garland was unopposed for the 1960 GOP nomination; he had run a strong second to then incumbent Rep. Robert Hale (R 1943-59) in the 1958 GOP primary. In the unofficial results Garland won 84,985 votes and Oliver, 73,589.

In his campaign Garland attacked Oliver's "ultraliberal viewpoint" and pledged himself to "encourage incentive and expansion of industry by tax reform." Spending for an increased role by the Federal Government would eventually necessitate new taxes and result in inflation, Garland said. Garland has served four consecutive terms as Republican Mayor of Saco. Garland was born June 16, 1923, in Boston, Mass., and was graduated in the class of 1945 from Bowdoin College. He served in the Air Force in World War II and has been an officer of the Garland Manufacturing Company of Saco since 1946. Married and the father of three children, he is an Episcopalian.

Stanley R. Tupper (R), 2nd District

Maine's 2nd District returned to Republican hands in 1960 when Stanley R. Tupper, 39, won the seat vacated by Rep. Frank M. Coffin (D 1957-61), who made an unsuccessful bid for the Maine governorship. Coffin built up a 61.2 percent margin of victory in 1958. Tupper carried the district by 9,084 votes for a 53.4 percent edge. He defeated John C. Donovan, administrative assistant to Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine), 71,350 to 62,266 in the unofficial tally.

Tupper campaigned on his record in public service, particularly his activities as Commissioner of the Department of Sea and Shore Fisheries, his one term as a state legislator (1953-55) and his service as assistant state attorney general. He is also a former state chairman of the Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon. He defined America's greatest task as that of "insuring a lasting peace in the world based upon principle and right."

Tupper was born Jan. 25, 1921, in Boothbay Harbor, Maine, where he still lives with his wife and son. Graduating from Middlebury College, he earned his law degree from extension courses at LaSalle University and practiced law in Augusta. He is a Navy veteran of World War II and a Methodist.

MARYLAND

Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R), 6th District

Maryland's 6th District, which has elected Democrats only twice since 1941, voted out the incumbent Democrat and elected 38-year-old Charles McC. (Mac) Mathias Jr. in his place. With an 8,958-vote margin and 52.1 percent edge, Mathias ousted Rep. John R. Foley (D 1959-61), who had won with 51.4 percent of the 1958 vote. Both men had easily outdistanced primary opponents to face each other in the November contest. Mathias had 112,705 votes to Foley's 103,747 in the unofficial count.

In the course of a campaign featuring the use of faceto-face debates between the candidates, Mathias scored Foley's record in Congress as that of a "free spender".

Mathias suggested curtailing the power of the House Rules Committee by adding to its membership and thus broadening both its political and geographical basis. Mathias also supported liberalization of quotas under the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act; deletion of the loyalty oath provision from the National Defense Education Act; amendment of the Hatch Act to permit federal employees to participate in local campaigns; government aid to federally impacted areas and to school construction financed by long-term bonds. Mathias also urged tax reforms to encourage capital expansion by small businesses and opposed subsidies for teachers' salaries.

Mathias centered his campaign on charges that Foley was one of the "biggest spenders" in Congress. He also criticized Foley's failure to vote one way or the other on the key roll-call involving the Landrum-Griffin bill. Foley countered with charges that Mathias, as a member of Maryland's House of Delegates, had missed 40 percent of the house's 1959 roll call votes. Mathias' previous

political experience also includes six years as city attorney of Frederick, Md., and two years as assistant

state attorney general.

He was born July 24, 1922, in Frederick, where he still lives, and was graduated with a B.A. from Haverford College and an LL.B. from the University of Maryland in 1949. He served in the Navy from 1942 to 1946. Mathias is married and the father of a son. He is an Episcopalian.

MASSACHUSETTS

F. Bradford Morse (R), 5th District

Maintaining their hold on Massachusetts' 5th District, Republicans elected F. Bradford Morse, 39, to the seat held for 18 terms by the late Rep. Edith Nourse Rogers (R 1925-60). Morse defeated Democratic candidate William C. Madden by 20,542 votes for 54.6 percent of those cast Nov. 8, polling 122,568 to Madden's 102,026 in unofficial returns. Morse had won the Sept. 13 primary for the GOP nomination, receiving more than 16,000 write-in votes. Mrs. Rogers had died three days earlier and there were no other names on the GOP primary ballot.

Morse took a liberal Republican stand during the campaign, advocating a minimum wage of \$1.25 and supporting federal aid to school construction. He also called for new legislation for the protection of civil rights and for a "new approach" to medical care for the aged—under the Social Security structure, if no other method

could be approved.

Holding positions in both the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government, Morse has served in Washington since 1953. He first became assistant counsel to the Senate Armed Services Committee. He became administrative assistant to Sen. Leverett Saltonstall in 1955. In November, 1958 he was appointed Deputy Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, a post he held until resigning to run for Rep. Rogers' seat. His political experience also includes election to one term on the Lowell, Mass., City Council.

Born Aug. 7, 1921 in Lowell, where he and his wife live, Morse received a degree in business administration from Boston University, which awarded him an LL.B. cum laude from its Law School in 1948. He served in the Army from 1942 to 1946 and was also a faculty member of Boston University Law School from 1949 to 1953.

NEW JERSEY

Charles S. Joelson (D), 8th District

A House seat which had been Republican-held for the past 40 years switched to Democrat Charles S. Joelson, 44, who took New Jersey's 8th District seat by 14,870 votes, polling 54.3 percent of the votes cast. He will replace retiring Rep. Gordon Canfield (R 1941-61), whose secretary, Walter P. Kennedy, had attempted to keep the district in Republican hands. In unofficial returns, Joelson took 88,040 votes to Kennedy's 73,170.

For Joelson the victory was the climax of "the dream of two generations." His father had failed to win the seat in 1932 and Joelson himself lost to Canfield by 148 votes in 1948 and by over 11,000 votes in 1954. Joelson in his campaign supported medical care for the aged, increased minimum wage, federal aid to education and relief for distressed areas. In his speeches he stressed

his labor support and his dedication to the "New Frontiers" goals of President-designate John F. Kennedy.

Joelson gained prominence in New Jersey as a "racket-busting" deputy attorney general in charge of the state's criminal investigation division, a post he resigned in 1959. He has also served on the Paterson, N.J., City Council by appointment from 1948 to 1951.

Born Jan. 27, 1916, in Paterson, where he lives with his wife and daughter, he was graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Cornell in 1937 and from its Law School in 1939. A Japanese language specialist in the Navy in World War

II, he is Jewish.

NEW YORK

Otis G. Pike (D), 1st District

Otis G. Pike, 39, campaigning as a Democrat with Liberal Party endorsement, stymied Rep. Stuyvesant Wainwright (R 1953-61) in the latter's try for a fifth term in New York's 1st District seat. Pike's narrow victory ended the 54-year period which Democrats had spent in the political wilderness of Long Island's Suffolk County. The seat had been held from 1951 to 1953 by an independent Democrat, whom Rep. Wainwright defeated. Pike won with 187,013 votes to 184,569 for Wainwright in the unofficial returns for a 50.3 percent victory margin.

More than anything else the results represented a personal defeat for Rep. Wainwright, whom Pike repeatedly attacked on charges of absenteeism. In the course of the campaign Pike took stands supporting \$1.25 minimum wage and medical care for the aged under the Social

Security system.

Pike's previous political experience includes two successful contests for justice of the peace in Riverhead and membership on the Riverhead Town Council. He supported former Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson for the 1960 Democratic Presidential nomination.

A magna cum laude graduate of Princeton, Pike was born August 31, 1921 in Riverhead, where he lives with his wife and three children. He earned an LL,B, from Columbia University Law School and served four years as a Marine Air Corps pilot. He is a member of the United Church of Christ.

Joseph P. Addabbo (D), 5th District

Joseph P. Addabbo, 35, capitalized on the retirement of Rep. Albert H. Bosch (R 1953-61) to bring in a Democratic victory in Queens' 5th District. Addabbo won the seat, held by Republicans since 1952, by a 10,301-vote margin, with 53.5 percent of the votes cast. A Liberal candidate for the seat withdrew during the campaign, and that party's endorsement went to Addabbo, who polled 78,801 votes to 68,500 in the unofficial count.

The winning candidate campaigned on a platform of assistance for the aged, civil rights and a "strong defense program." He pledged himself to fight "for economic rights for the working man and an economically planned, not a politically expedient, budget. Addabbo severely criticized the Republican Administration for "closing its eyes to overcrowded classrooms and inadequate (educational) facilities." He promised to support federal aid programs for both school construction and teachers'

salaries.

Addabbo's win came on his first try for elective office and after a victory over three Democratic primary opponents. Born March 17, 1925 in Ozone Park, N.Y., where he lives with his wife and two children, Addabbo was graduated from City College of New York and St. John's Law School. A practicing attorney until his election, he is a Roman Catholic.

Hugh L. Carey (D), 12th District

Riding a cushion of Kennedy votes, Hugh L. Carey, 41, defeated four-term Rep. Francis E. Dorn (R 1953-61) for the House seat from the 12th District in Brooklyn. With 50.5 percent of the votes cast -- 1,322 votes more than Dorn -- Carey edged his way into the seat. Dorn had carried the area by 52.7 percent two years ago, but was defeated in 1960 in an unofficial tally which gave Carey 68,169 votes and Dorn 66,847.

In his first campaign for elective office, Carey had Liberal party endorsement. He called for wider federal aid to education and medical care for the aged under Social Security. He repeatedly identified himself as a staunch supporter of the programs advocated by Presi-

dent-designate John F. Kennedy.

A businessman and attorney, Carey was born April 11, 1919, in Brooklyn, where he lives now, and was graduated from St. John's University Law School with an LL.B. A Roman Catholic and infantry veteran of World War II, he is married and has 11 children, who helped in the campaign.

William F. Ryan (D), 20th District

Traditionally Democratic, the 20th District on New York City's West Side sent insurgent Democrat William Fitts Ryan, 38, to replace incumbent Rep. Ludwig Teller (D 1957-61). Ryan defeated Teller first in the Democratic primary and again in the November election, in which Teller ran as a Liberal.

Ryan, candidate of reform Democrats seeking the ouster of Tammany Hall leader Carmine G. DeSapio, won the general election with 55.8 percent of the votes cast and a margin of 24,993 votes over his Republican opponent, Morris Aarons. Teller was a poor third, polling only 14 percent of the vote; he won Liberal endorsement in the June primary. In the unofficial count Ryan received 54,605 votes; Aarons 29,612; and Teller 13,688.

The 20th District has a record of insurgency going back to 1949, when ex-Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. (D 1949-55) captured the district in a special election in which he was opposed by Tammany Hall. Ryan joined the reform forces after his 1957 election as Democratic leader of the city's 7th assembly district. He was aided in both the primary and election campaigns by ex-Sen. (1949-57) and ex-Gov. (1933-42) Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and former Air Force Secretary

Thomas K. Finletter.

Besides campaigning against "bossism" in New York City politics, Ryan made speeches on foreign policy, civil rights, housing and economic growth. He was attacked by Teller for advocating recognition of Red China, internationalization of the Panama Canal and abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, positions which Ryan had qualified with various conditions. Ryan is a member of the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He served as an assistant district attorney for New York County from 1950 to 1957.

Born in Albion, N.Y., and now a resident of New York City, Mr. Ryan was graduated with an A.B. from Princeton Unversity and an LL.B. from Columbia Law School.

An infantry officer in the Pacific during World War II. he is married, the father of three children and a Roman

Carleton J. King (R), 31st District

Carleton J. King, 56, handily won New York's 31st District seat to replace retiring Rep. Dean P. Taylor (R 1943-61). The traditionally Republican district gave King 59.9 percent of its votes, a drop of only 3.9 percent from Taylor's winning margin in 1958. King polled 96,347 votes to his opponent's 64,532 in the unofficial count.

King's campaign speeches concentrated on defense, economic and foreign policies. He had previously won four consecutive terms as district attorney of Saratoga County (1950-60) and had been assistant district attorney since 1942. He was one of two Republicans appointed by ex-Gov. W. Averell Harriman (D 1955-59) to the Hogan Committee on combating organized crime.

King was born June 15, 1904, in Saratoga Springs, N.Y., his present home. Educated at Unior University and Albany Law School, he is married and has two children and two grandchildren. He is a Roman Catholic.

PENNSYLVANIA

William W. Scranton (R), 10th District

William W. Scranton, 43, defeated Rep. Stanley A. Prokop (D 1959-61) to bring Pennsylvania's 10th District back to the Republican fold it left two years ago. With a 16,915 vote margin Scranton polled 50.7 percent of the votes in a district which gave Rep. Prokop a 50.4 percent edge over the Republican incumbent in 1958. The unofficial results were Scranton 97,012;

Prokop 80,097.

Scranton's win came after a campaign centered on his record in bringing new industries to the area and helping already established ones. President of the Scranton-Lackawanna Trust Co. (1954-56) and Chairman of the Board of Northeastern Pennsylvania Broadcasting (1957-59), Scranton was closely associated with LIFE and SLIBCO, two local enterprises for building industrial plants. He pledged to get "proper recognition" for the district in depressed area legislation, Scranton also dealt with minimum wage, medical care for the aged, school construction aid and housing legislation as campaign issues. He also cited his foreign policy experience based on his year as a special assistant to the Secretary of

Scranton's victory put him in his first elective office. He is a member of an old and prominent Scranton family. His mother was Mrs. Worthington Scranton, former Republican National Committeewoman and vice-chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican organization.

Born July 19, 1917, in Madison, Conn., Scranton was graduated from Yale College in 1939. He served four years as an Air Force pilot in world War II and obtained a law degree from Yale in 1946. A resident of Glenburn Township near Dalton, Pa., he is married, has four children and is a Presbyterian.

Richard S. Schweiker (R), 13th District

After soundly defeating (by a 5,600-vote margin) incumbent Rep. John A. Lafore Jr. (R 1957-61) for the Republican nomination in Pennsylvania's 13th District, Richard S. Schweiker, 34, won Montgomery County's House seat by polling 61.2 percent of the votes cast.

His victory in the April primary was a rebuff to the district's regular GOP organization and represented almost a guarantee of election in the solidly Republican territory. In the unofficial returns Schweiker had 139,829 votes to 87,257 for his opponent, Warren M. Ballard (D).

Politically a relative unknown, Schweiker had been twice elected alternate delegate to the GOP national

conventions in 1952 and 1956.

He defined his "main reason" for getting into politics as his desire "to work in the field of international relations and world peace." He has been vice president of sales for the American Encaustic Tiling Co. of Landsdale, where he lives with his wife and son.

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Pennsylvania State University in 1950, he was born June 1, 1926, in Norristown, Pa. He served aboard an aircraft carrier in World War II. He is a member of the Central Schwenkfelder

Church,

J. Irving Whalley (R), 18th District

J. Irving Whalley, 58, maintained the long-standing Republican dominance of Pennsylvania's 18th District in his successful campaign to fill the House seat vacated by the death of Rep. Douglas H. Elliott (R 1960), who had been elected to the seat in a special April election. Elliott had replaced the late Rep. Richard M. Simpson (R 1937-60), who died in January. Whalley won the seat with a comfortable 62.4 percent of the votes cast, considerably more than Simpson's 56.3 percent 1958 reelection margin. Unofficially Whalley took 86,536 votes to 52,147 for the Democratic candidate, Robert M. Meyers.

Whalley had served as a member of the state legislature from 1951-60, as a member of the house (until 1955) and of the senate. In the state senate he was identified with a number of bills for improving state welfare activities, encouraging industry to come to Pennsylvania, and requiring that the meetings of legislative bodies of all political subdivisions such as school districts be open to the public. He was named "Senator of the Year" in

1957 by the Pittsburgh Press.

He was born Sept. 14, 1902, in Barnesboro, Pa., and worked while attending high school and taking extension courses at the Cambria Rowe Business College. Whalley is a Windber business man involved in the automobile, coal and banking businesses. Married and the father of two children, he is a Presbyterian.

George A. Goodling (R), 19th District

George A. Goodling, 64, ousted Rep. James M. Quigley (D 1955-57, 1959-61) in Pennsylvania's largely rural 19th District. Quigley had won the switch district by 51 percent of the 1954 votes and 51.5 percent in 1958 after his try for two consecutive terms was rejected by nearly 54 percent of the voters in 1956. Goodling's victory came on 53.1 percent of the 163,568 votes -- 86,895 to 76,673 in the unofficial returns.

Goodling is a seven-term representative in the state General Assembly and served 28 years as a school director. He campaigned on his interest in the farm problem and his support of the Republican national ticket as best

qualified to cope with the world situation.

Born Sept. 26, 1896, in Loganville, where he is a fruit farmer, he is a graduate of Pennsylvania State University, a widower and the father of six children. A Navy veteran of World War I, Goodling is a Protestant.

RHODE ISLAND

Fernand J. St. Germain (D), 1st District

With the endorsement of the state committee, Fernand J. St. Germain, 33, overwhelmed four opponents in the Democratic primary and easily downed Republican opposition to win the House seat of Rhode Island's 1st District. He replaces retiring Rep. Aime J. Forand (D 1937-61) in solidly Democratic territory. St. Germain bettered Forand's winning margins of the last four campaigns by polling 66.8 percent of the vote -- 113,996 to 56,473 for his GOP opponent, Theophile Martin, in unofficial vote counts.

St. Germain campaigned on his support for the Forand medical aid bill as well as for a \$1.25 minimum wage and revision of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act to eliminate "discriminatory" quotas. A four-term state legislator (1953-61), he was first elected at the age of 24

while still a law student.

St. Germain was born Jan. 9, 1928, in Blackstone, Mass. He resides in Woonsocket with his wife and daughter. He was graduated in 1948 with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree from Providence College, and in 1955 with an LL.B. from Boston University Law School. In between, he served three years in the Army. He is an attorney and a Roman Catholic.

VERMONT Robert T. Stafford (R), At-Large

Incumbent Governor Robert T. Stafford, 47, choosing not to seek reelection to the office he won by 719 votes in 1958, instead was overwhelmingly approved to replace Rep. William H. Meyer (D 1959-61) as Vermont's Congressman At Large. Meyer won the seat by 3,595 votes in 1958 to become Vermont's first Democrat in the House in more than 100 years. Stafford defeated him by 9,538 votes -- 31,448 to 21,910 in unofficial results -- after an easy victory over three opponents in the September GOP primary.

Stafford repeatedly attacked Meyer for his vote against House approval of the 1959 Defense Department Appropriation bill and for his stand in favor of admitting Red China to the United Nations. Meyer voted for the 1960 appropriation bill, but has been a strong critic of national defense policies, an advocate of world disarmament and an opponent of nuclear testing. Stafford criticized a number of Meyer's foreign policy positions in a campaign which devoted roughly as much attention to international affairs as to conditions in Vermont and Stafford's record as Governor. Stafford frequently declared his support for the United Nations and for U.S. foreign aid programs.

Stafford has risen in Vermont politics from his 1938 election as grand juror in Rutland to his 1956 victory for the lieutenant governorship. In between he won two terms as county state's attorney (1947-51) and became attorney general after the 1954 election. In 1953 he was appointed

state deputy attorney general.

He was born Aug. 8, 1913, in Rutland, where he, his wife and four children live. A graduate of Middlebury College with a B.S., he studied at the University of Michigan and received his LL.B. from Boston University Law School. He served in the Navy in World War II and again from 1951 to 1953 in the Atlantic Reserve Fleet. Stafford is a Congregationalist.



REPUBLICAN ADVISORY GROUP

Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R N.Y.) Dec. 5 urged that Republicans set up a high-level policy planning committee to advise on the formulation of party programs. He suggested President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Gov. Rockefeller, Sen. Goldwater and former President Hoover as some of the group's members. Keating said that such a group might prevent "blood-letting" between liberal and conservative factions and might bridge gaps between the national leadership and Congressional Republicans. The suggested committee might be modeled on the Democratic National Committee's Advisory Council, though Keating said he thought of it more as a successor to the committee headed by Charles H. Percy to outline party goals in advance of the 1960 National Convention. (Weekly Report

House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R Ind.) threw cold water on Keating's suggestion Dec. 6 with the statement that "the initial and primary responsibility (for policy making) rests on Republicans in Congress. After all, we are going to have to do the voting," he said. Halleck did add that Congressional Republicans will have "full cooperation and consulation" on policy matters with

GOP leaders across the nation

AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

The non-partisan drive to get out an informed vote and to increase the number of individual campaign contributors was highly successful, the American Heritage Foundation announced Dec. 6. The Foundation's annual report tool a share of the credit for the record vote of over 68 million in the Presidential election and said the turnout represented "about 80 percent" of the 3 eligible to vote and "more than 64 percent" of all persons of voting age. The Foundation also viewed ticket-splitting in such states as New Jersey, Massachusetts and Minnesota as a measure of the informed nature of the electorate and said that both parties reported "a record number of no-strings-attached small donations" from Americans who had not previously made political contributions.

SOUTHERN ELECTORS

The drive to deny President-designate John F. Kennedy the votes of Democratic electors in the South appeared to have slowed down. The Louisiana House of Representatives unanimously killed a resolution that would have instructed the state's electors not to vote for Mr. Kennedy, and the state's Governor Jimmie H. Davis denied that he had ever called a conference of Southern Governors for the purpose of uniting the South against Mr. Kennedy's election.

The resolution was killed after its sponsor conferred with Gov. Davis and then moved Nov. 29 to withdraw the proposal. The bill had been introduced after Mr. Kennedy refused to comment on the New Orleans school desegregation issue and declined to see Louisiana delegates who sought his views on the matter. The Governors'

conference -- to discuss measures to oppose both integration and Mr. Kennedy -- died when Gov. Ross Barnett (D Miss.) Nov. 22 accepted an invitation to attend the meeting and Gov. Davis immediately denied he had ever issued such an invitation. Barnett's eight Mississippi electors remained unpledged to any Presidential candi-

REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Three men have been mentioned as head of the Republican party for the next four years, but none of the nominees has been officially conceded the title. President Eisenhower picked Vice President Richard M. Nixon; Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R N.Y.) named GOP National Chairman Sen. Thruston B. Morton (R Ky.); and Sen. Barry Goldwater (R Ariz.) draped the mantle over the President's shoulders.

The disagreement between Mr. Eisenhower and Gov. Rockefeller became apparent after the President had toasted Nixon at White House dinners Nov. 30 and Dec. 1 as "the head of the Republican party for the next four years," and Rockefeller had said Dec. 1 that he thought Nixon was "titular head," but added that the party needed

'collective leadership.'

Rockefeller's statement was a follow-up to his Nov. 29 announcement that he would seek reelection as Governor in 1962 and that he regarded Morton as the party chief. Rockefeller said then that Nixon was "one of the vital forces" in the party but that "between elections, when a party loses the Presidency," it has no head except the national chairman. If Rockefeller wins his 1962 reelection contest, he will be in the spotlight for the 1964 Republican Presidential nomination.

Sen. Goldwater Nov. 30 disagreed with both men and said the President would remain titular head of the party, at least until Nixon decides whether or not to run again. Goldwater also is regarded as a possible Presidential

candidate in 1964.

INDIANA RACE INVESTIGATED

Investigators for the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures were ordered Nov. 29 to look into charges that ballots had been inaccurately counted in Indiana's 5th District. Republican George A. Chambers had been declared the winner by a five-vote margin over Freshman Democratic Rep. J. Edward Roush. Roush submitted an affidavit alleging that 31 absentee ballots were counted in Jefferson Township in Grant County, but that only 17 had been cast.

MAINE RESULTS

The results for the Maine Senate election Nov. 8 are as follows:

> Margaret Chase Smith (R) 255,521 (61.5%) Lucia Cormier (D) 159,736 (38.5%)

Mrs. smith received the highest percentage of all Republicans running for the Senate in 1960. The percentages above are corrected from those reported on Weekly Report p. 1899.



SENATE HARMONY

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D Mont.), assistant to the Senate Majority Leader, Dec. 3 said Congress in 1961 would approve a substantial share of President-designate John F. Kennedy's legislative program and that the Democratic party in the new Congress would be characterized by a

"high degree of unity and harmony"

Mansfield's comments followed a Dec. 2 statement by Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D Va.) in which Byrd challenged Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D Pa.) to attempt to deny him access to Democratic caucuses and remove him from his chairmanship of the Senate Finance Committee because he had not supported Sen. Kennedy during the campaign and had opposed certain programs outlined in the Democratic plat-

In an open letter to Clark, Byrd said Clark had been quoted in newspapers as saying he (Clark) was leading a movement to purge Democratic Senators who had not given full support to the party. "It is evident that your statement was directed at me," Byrd said, since he was the only Senator who was chairman of a major committee and who had not endorsed the party's candidate or platform.

Clark Nov. 18 had written to every Senator urging "bipartisan support of the rules reform" in the Senate and describing specific proposals which he had made in the past. Clark's letter also recommended a reform of the Democratic party in the Senate, including disapproval of "committee chairmen and new appointees to key committees of Members who have failed to support the national ticket or those who opposed the platform pledges in the area in which the committee has jurisdiction."

Only once in recent history has a Senator been removed from his committee posts because he refused to support his party during a campaign. In 1953 Sen. Wayne Morse (D Ore.) was removed from the Armed Services and Public Welfare Committees and put on the District of Columbia and Public Works Committees because he had bolted the Republican party during the 1952 campaign.

(1953 Almanac p. 312)

KENNEDY APPOINTMENTS

President-designate John F. Kennedy made the following appointments to his Administration:

Dec. 1

Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D) of Connecticut to be Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Gov. G. Mennen Williams (D) of Michigan to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Dec. 2

David E. Bell, professor of economics at Harvard Univ., to be Director of the Budget Bureau.

Myer Feldman, Sen. Kennedy's legislative assistant, to serve as an assistant to Bell until Jan. 20 and then as deputy special counsel to the President with budget and programming responsibilities.

Dec. 3

Gov. Luther H. Hodges (D) of North Carolina to be Secretary of Commerce.

Dec. 7

Rep. Stewart L. Udall (D Ariz.) to be Secretary of Interior.

DEFENSE REPORT

President-designate John F. Kennedy Dec. 5 received an advisory report recommending reorganization of the

Defense Department.

The report, submitted by Sen. Stuart Symington (D Mo.) as chairman of a six-man committee appointed by Mr. Kennedy Sept. 14, suggested eliminating the existing departmental structure -- Army, Air Force and Navy -and the Joint Chiefs of Staff system and establishing instead new sub-secretary positions, based on function rather than service, and a Military Advisory Council, the chairman of which would be the chief military advisor to the President and the Secretary of Defense.

The report was divided into three sections -- civilian authority, military commands and financial. The most sweeping changes would take place in the civilian set-up, since the abolition of the departmental structure would do away with existing service secretaries, under secretaries and assistant secretaries and seven assistant secretaries of Defense -- a total of 22 positions. The military heads of the three services would be subject to the

direct authority of the Secretary of Defense.

In place of the abolished positions, the report recommended establishment of two new Under Secretaries of Defense, one for Administration who would be responsible for financial management, personnel and related activities. The other, an Under Secretary for Weapons System, would be responsible for all aspects of weapons development, and or research, construction, procurement and installations. The report also recommended creating a post for a Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for Arms Control who would serve as liaison between the Defense Department and other agencies where problems of disarmament and arms control were con-

Within the military command there would be a Joint Staff and a Military Advisory Council. The chairman of the Joint Staff, who would also preside over the council, would be the principal military advisor to the President and the Secretary of Defense. The Joint Staff, replacing the existing Joint Chiefs of Staff, would consist of the heads of four new commands: strategic -- responsible for all strategic missions; tactical -- responsible for limited and conventional defense missions; defense -- responsible for all continental defense missions; national guard and reserve -- responsible for all national guard and reserve units; and civil defense. The Military Advisory Council would consist of a group of senior officers from all the services, appointed by the President, who would be relieved of their functions and responsibilities to their service and who would retire after serving on the council.

The third section of the report dealing with financial matters recommended that the Secretary of Defense present to Congress detailed explanations of his annual appropriation requests and that all appropriations be made directly to the Secretary of Defense rather than to the specific services.

Symington estimated his plan would save \$8 billion a

year in military expenditures.

Sen. Kennedy said the report was "an interesting and constructive study" which would be "carefully analyzed"

by Congress and his Administration.

RELATED DEVELOPMENTS -- Dec. 4 -- Mr. Kennedy appointed an II-member committee to draft a federal program for the relief of economically depressed areas. The committee, under the chairmanship of Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D III.), was charged with developing a program which would stimulate economic growth in areas of chronic unemployment, encourage new job opportunities in depressed areas, remove any handicaps preventing full development of the Nation's industrial potential and stimulate investment in new industries.

Dec. 4 -- Sens. Frank Church (D Idaho) and Frank E. Moss (D Utah) began a study tour of Africa. They were joined Dec. 5 by Sen. Gale W. McGee (D Wyo.) and Theodore Kennedy, brother of the President-designate.

EISENHOWER-KENNEDY

President Eisenhower and President-designate Kennedy Dec. 6 conferred at the White House on the problems involved in the transfer of Administrations. The meeting of the two men was the first since before the Nov. 8 election.

The President greeted Sen. Kennedy on the front steps and then escorted the President-designate through the White House to his office where they conferred alone for one hour and 45 minutes. Then the two men joined Secretaries of State Christian A. Herter, Defense Thomas S. Gates Jr. and Treasury Robert B. Anderson in the Cabinet Room for one hour and 15 minutes.

A joint statement said the President and Sen. Kennedy had discussed foreign problems including the United States balance-of-payments deficit, and domestic matters relating to the operation of the Executive Branch.

The statement continued: "There was of course full

The statement continued: "There was of course full understanding that the President,...maintains sole jurisdiction for the conduct of the Government until his successor is inaugurated." It said the continuity of Government would be assured through an orderly transfer of executive responsibilities and declared the United States Government would continue "to seek peace with justice in freedom for all peoples."

SUPREME COURT

The Supreme Court Dec. 5 (in Boynton v. Virginia) ruled 7-2 that a bus terminal restaurant may not segregate passengers traveling across state lines, provided the restaurant is an "integral" part of an interstate bus service. The Court relied on the Interstate Commerce Act which prohibits interstate buses from subjecting "any particular person to any unjust discrimination or any unjust or unreasonable prejudice". The Act has been defined to include facilities operated or controlled by the bus company.

Voting in the majority were Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justices Hugo L. Black, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas, John Marshall Harlan, William T. Brennan and Potter Stewart. In the minority were Justices Charles E. Whittaker and Tom C. Clark. Black wrote the opinion for the majority; Whittaker for the minority.

The majority opinion said interstate passengers had a "right to expect...essential transportation food service voluntarily provided for them would be rendered without discrimination prohibited under the Interstate Commerce Act." Black said the Act included "services that are an integral part of transportation through the use of facilities they neither own, control nor operate." He added, however, that the Court did not mean that "every time a bus stops at a wholly independent roadside restaurant the Act applies" but that the facts of the Boynton case showed that the restaurant involved operated as integral part of the interstate service.

The case developed from a 1958 incident when Bruce Boynton, a Negro, was on a bus traveling from Washington, D.C. to Selma, Ala. At a scheduled rest stop at terminal facilities in Richmond, Va., Boynton was refused service in a section of the restaurant reserved for white patrons. He was asked to leave, but refused and eventually was fined \$10 after being taken into custody by

the police for violating local ordinances.

Attorneys for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People who represented Boynton presented two Constitutional arguments: that his arrest was an unreasonable burden on commerce and that it denied him equal protection of the laws. The Justice Department, entering the case as a friend of the court, raised the issue that the refusal of service violated the Interstate Commerce Act. The Court's decision relied entirely on the Act and did not comment on the Constitutional issues.

C.A.B. DECISION PROTESTED

Protests against a Civil Aeronautics Board Oct. 31 decision to award a Missouri air route to Central Airlines and thereby take it away from Ozark Airlines led to C.A.B. hearings Dec. 6 on petitions for reconsideration of the decision. Ozark claimed that C.A.B. Vice Chairman Chan Gurney had disqualified himself from making a decision in the case by accepting hospitality from Central and then writing Central a letter saying that Central's staff had "the knowledge, morale and energy to take care of Central Airlines in apple pie manner, no matter how large a system they may be given to handle."

The latter phrase, according to Rep. Thomas B. Curtis (R Mo.), "was a sure tip-off what the decision was going to be" in the case involving the right to provide service on the route from St. Louis to Springfield and Joplin, Mo. Curtis called for an investigation of what he called "shocking improprieties" by Gurney and said he wanted the White House and possibly the House Committee on Legislative Oversight to investigate the matter to determine whether or not bias had influenced the C.A.B.'s decision.

Supporting Ozark's petition for a rehearing of the socalled Kansas-Oklahoma case were the Missouri cities served by the airline and Missouri Democrats Sen. Stuart Symington and Reps. Morgan M. Moulder, Leonor Kretzer Sullivan and Frank M. Karsten. The disputed decision is scheduled to go into effect Jan. 14, 1961.



Committee Roundup

SPACE COMMUNICATIONS POLICY

COMMITTEE -- Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences.

ACTION -- Dec. 4 issued a staff report in the form of a committee print on policy planning for space telecommunications. The report was designed to inform Congress and the Executive on the current development of policy on communications satellites and suggest what further steps could be taken to develop a system of international telecommunications.

In a statement accompanying the report, Chairman Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) said that in order to demonstrate the United States "desire to develop peaceful applications of space...we must have a unified policy which effectively coordinates all our diverse and extensive

resources in this area." The report said there was no unified policy.

The report said "not only is a central policy undeveloped, but the responsibility for establishing such a central communications policy...is unclear." It also said that the "sparkling promise" of satellites for opening new intercontinental communications could be damaged if

"critical decisions are not made promptly."

The report listed major issues in telecommunications which it said would face the 87th Congress. They included: the 1959 Geneva treaty (Exec I, 86th Congress, 2nd Session) setting aside 13 frequency bands for international research; cooperation with other nations in setting aside frequencies for satellites in the already congested radio spectrum; industry-Government cooperation; the effect of the absence of national communications policy on space research progress; and designation of an agency to regulate communications satellites. The report also recommended that the Executive Branch undertake "the most careful and comprehensive study" of space communications policy "without delay".

PORT AUTHORITY

COMMITTEE -- House Judiciary, Antitrust Subcommittee.

RESUMED HEARINGS -- On the financing and

operations of the Port of New York Authority.

BACKGROUND -- The House Aug. 23 adopted resolutions (H Res 606-608) citing three officials of the Authority, Executive Director J. Austin Tobin, Board Chairman S. Sloan Colt, and Board Secretary Joseph G. Carty, for contempt of Congress for refusing to furnish subpenaed Authority records in an investigation by the Subcommittee in June. (Weekly Report p. 1482)

Attorney General William P. Rogers Nov. 25 an-

Attorney General William P. Rogers Nov. 25 announced the filing of an information against Tobin to test the "respective contentions of the Congress and the Port Authority as to the extent to which Congress could inquire into the Port Authority's operations." (Under the information procedure a judge alone determines if a trial is necessary). Tobin was named as sole defendant in the suit on the ground that if the court ruled against him he was empowered to produce the subpensed documents.

Subcommittee Chairman Emanuel Celler (D N.Y.) said the Department of Justice had flouted "the will of Congress by selecting only one individual for criminal prosecution for contempt of Congress.... Furthermore", he said, "instead of proceeding by way of grand jury leading to indictment as is required by statute, the Department of Justice now proceeds by way of information for which procedure there may be absolutely no statutory authority." Testimony:

Nov. 28 -- In an opening statement Celler said the inquiry had resulted from complaints that the Authority had failed to carry out its responsibilities in regard to railroad commuting; "displayed favoritism" in awarding business; failed to reduce tolls as costs were paid off; was unduly influenced by firms with which it did business;

and competed unfairly with private enterprise.

Celler said bank records showed the Authority had kept large amounts on deposit which drew no interest, and had paid more than "prime interest" rates on loans. Authority officials said its financial dealings were justified by service and advice obtained from the banks.

Nov. 30 -- Myron Rand, a federal auditor, said Authority officials had received \$4,148 in entertainment and gifts from the Authority brokerage concern, the J.S. Frelinghuysen Corporation. Tobin said the charges were a "filthy smear", and Authority officials denied that they had received half the alleged gifts. Mortimer Wolf, counsel for the brokerage firm, said many of the reported gift items were "bad errors" in bookkeeping.

De. 1 -- J.S. Frelinghuysen said another insurance firm received fees from 1949-52 while his company handled all the work. Frelinghuysen said the other firm, Knickerbocker Associates, was headed by D. Mallory Stephens, chairman of the New York State Assembly Ways and Means Committee from 1942-52. He said the Ways and Means Committee kii. d three investigations of the

Authority during that period.

Following Frelinghuysen's statement, Tobin said "This investigation is made up of slurs, smears and vengeance, because Mr. Celler could not get from the Port Authority favored treatment for clients of his law firm." Howard S. Cullman, honorary chairman of the Authority, agreed and said Celler pressured him in 1950 to get a parking lot concession for a client with an unsavory reputation. He said Celler threatened to investigate the Authority. Celler said the charge was "an outrageous deliberate falsehood" and the Subcommittee would not be "intimidated by such attacks."

Celler Dec. 2 said hearings would be continued in 1961 to demonstrate the need for more adequate control

and supervision of the agency.

HIGHWAY PROBE

COMMITTEE -- House Public Works, Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program.

RESUMED HEARINGS -- On allegations of widespread fraud, mismanagement and lack of control in the federal-aid highway program. The second phase of the hearings concentrated on the administration of the program in Florida; earlier investigations had focused on Oklahoma. (Weekly Report p. 1008) Testimony:

Dec. 5 -- Creighton R. Brown, a payroll clerk for Cone Bros. Contracting Co. of Tampa, said for several years, up to Oct. 14, 1960, he had been instructed to put into unmarked evelopes each week payments averaging \$25 which he then mailed to state engineers. He said the number of envelopes varied from three to eight. The payments, which came out of petty cash, were only sent to employees of the Road Department, Brown said. He said the list of those receiving the payments was controlled by Charles E. Bailes, general superintendent of Cone Bros. On Oct. 14 he had been told to stop the payments, but he had no knowledge of what had happened to the list, Brown said.

Walter R. May, counsel for the Subcommittee, said Florida began a legislative investigation of Cone Bros. on Oct. 14. The firm subsequently was declared ineligi-

ble to bid on state road construction jobs.

Malcolm L. Kimble, an engineer for the Florida Road Department, said he had never received irregular payments, but that "spasmodically" he would receive unmarked envelopes containing \$25. Subcommittee investigators said records of the company showed Kimble had received 196 payments totaling \$4,900 from Cone Bros. between Jan. 4, 1957 and Oct. 14, 1960. He said the firm had never asked him to perform any favors, but conceded that he would not accept any further payment should it be tendered because it "sure must be improper if it's caused all this fuss." Walter C. Little, job superintendent for Cone Bros., said he knew nothing about the weekly payments, but admitted he must have authorized them when confronted with vouchers bearing his

Dec. 7 -- George Kopecky, chief investigator for the Subcommittee, said William McLeod, an engineer for the Florida Road Department, had received \$10,041 from three contractors -- Cone Bros., J.W. Conner and Son and W.L. Cobb Co. -- in recent years. McLeod said the \$1,200 he had received from Conner and Son represented

loans which he intended to repay.

Bailes admitted the weekly payments had been made to engineers in the state highway department and said the list was drawn up by J.L. Cone Jr., one of the partners in the firm. Bailes said he was given instructions by Cone regarding the payments when he became general superintendent early in 1958.

BOXING PROBE

COMMITTEE -- Senate Judiciary, Antitrust and

Monopoly Subcommittee.

RESUMED HEARINGS -- On a possible conspiracy between underworld elements and others in the boxing field to maintain monopoly control over professional boxing events. The Subcommittee held earlier hearings in June. (Weekly Report p. 1106) Testimony:

Dec. 5 -- Truman K. Gibson Jr., former president of the International Boxing Club, said the I.B.C. paid more than \$180,000 to managers and others to insure a "free flow of fighters." Of this amount, Gibson said, about \$142,000 went to Jack Kearns, who once managed Jack Dempsey and other fighters, and another \$40,000-\$45,000 was paid to the wife of Frankie Carbo. Gibson named several fight promoters who were probably "controlled" by or "very friendly" with Carbo, Gibson said the I.B.C. had "to live with" criminal elements in order to have fighters available and to avoid labor trouble. (The I.B.C. was ruled in violation of antitrust laws by the Supreme Court in 1955 and went out of

existence in 1957)

Dec. 6 -- Gibson said the I.B.C. advanced as much as \$350,000 to various fighters to insure their exclusive services. He said these advances were "good investments" although the I.B.C. lost about \$150,000 on the advances. Gibson also said he paid \$5,000 to Frank (Blinky) Palermo, identified as the imprisoned Carbo's successor, for the services of heavyweight contender Sonny Liston. Gibson, in answer to Chairman Estes Kefauver (D Tenn.) said boxing's interstate nature since the advent of television made it a "classic example of an area that needs federal regulation."

Dec. 7 -- Wallman confirmed his previous testimony before a New York grand jury; which was read to the Subcommittee, that Carbo and James D. Norris, another former I.B.C. president, were partners in controlling boxing during the existence of the I.B.C. In this partnership, he said, Norris provided the money and Carbo

provided "contacts and influence."

FARM REPORT

COMMITTEE -- Joint Economic.

ACTION -- Nov. 29 released a staff report, "Economic Policies for Agriculture in the 1960s." The report consisted of four papers prepared by agricultural economists under the supervision of Committee clerk John W. Lehman. Each described the effect on farm income of a specific program, as follows: voluntary land retirement, by John A. Schnittker, Kansas State College; improved production control for basic commodities -- voluntary land retirement of feed grain acreages, by Dale E. Hathaway, Michigan State University; direct management of market supplies, by Harlow W. Halvorson, University of Wisconsin: direct payments without production controls. by George E. Brandow, Pennsylvania State University. Walter W. Wilcox of the Library of Congress discussed agriculture's income and adjustment problem.

Commenting on the report in an accompanying news release, Committee Chairman Paul H. Douglas (D III.) said "a combination of programs as outlined...would result in farm income improvement with only minor increases in the retail cost of food which is now the lowest on record in relation to the weekly earnings of employed

workers.

Lehman, in his letter of transmittal, said no attempt was made to demonstrate the superiority of one program over another and "farm programs in the 1960s may indeed combine features found in each." However, he said, "if the general policy decision is to maintain or somewhat improve current incomes for farmers...programs enabling farmers to produce at less than capacity or increased government payments will be needed." He cited these developments expected by the authors to affect commercial agriculture in the coming decade: increased demand for food to be limited largely to meeting expanding population needs; moderate expansion of industrial demand to be offset by new industrial substitutes; advanced technology to make production expand faster than market outlets; production expenses to increase; rural people to face difficulties in obtaining nonfarm employment.

Lehman said the studies found that if current farm supports and controls were removed farm prices and

incomes would fall sharply.



The Week In Congress

New Lobbyists The number of persons and organizations going to work as lobbyists on Capitol Hill has taken a sharp drop in 1960, according to official Congressional reports. Between Jan. 1 and Oct. 15, only 225 lobby registrations were filed under the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, the lowest number since 1952. Since the Act was passed in 1946, the number of registrations filed each year has averaged 384. The 1959 total was 393. A Congressional Quarterly Fact Sheet gives reasons why the lobby law is misleading and furnishes an up-to-date assessment on the "third House of Congress." (Page 1942)

Byrd vs. Clark

Sen. Byrd of Virginia has challenged his colleagues, particularly Sen. Clark of Pennsylvania, who wants to reform the Senate rules, to try to oust him from his chairmanship of the Finance Committee. Byrd during the Presidential campaign declined to support the Democratic nominee and parts of the party platform -- and Clark Nov. 18 suggested reforms which, if accepted, would deprive Byrd of his chairmanship. The exchange presaged trouble for the opening of Congress on Jan. 3.... At the same time, Sen. Mansfield of Montana predicted the new Congress would be characterized by a "high degree of unity and harmony". (Page 1952)

Around the Capitol

President Eisenhower and President-designate Kennedy Dec. 6 met for the first time since the election. Lasting over three hours, the conference focused on the smooth transfer of powers from one Administration to the other....Preparing to take over the White House, Sen. Kennedy during the week announced the appointment of three Cabinet members and filled two other top positions....The Supreme Court Dec. 5 ruled that a bus terminal restaurant may not segregate passengers traveling across state lines, provided the restaurant is an "integral" part of the interstate service. (Page 1952)

Committee Action

Congress this week -- after a lull for the elections --got back to work as a number of committees resumed investigations. A Special House Public Works Subcommittee continued its probe into the possibilities of fraud and mismanagement in the federal highway construction program, this time focusing on Florida....And a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee continued its investigation into attempts to control professional boxing while a House Judiciary Subcommittee probed into the financing operations of the New York Port Authority. (Page 1953)

House Biographies

Continuing a series of biographies of new Members of the House of Representatives, Congressional Quarterly this week publishes background stories on 18 new Eastern Congressmen and 11 new Westerners. Two of the men have served previously in the House; 18 of the newcomers are Republicans and 11 are Democrats. Biographies of new Southern members appeared in the Weekly Report for the week ending Dec. 2 (Page 1936), and a final section on newcomers from the Midwest will be published next week. (Page 1944)

Political Roundup

Two moves to block Southern electoral votes from going to President-designate Kennedy appear to have collapsed....Bids for Republican Party leadership have begun with President Eisenhower apparently supporting Vice President Nixon and Gov. Rockefeller pointing to Sen. Thruston B. Morton, the National Chairman....Sen. Kenneth B. Keating proposed a national Republican policy advisory group, but ran into opposition from House GOP leader Halleck....House investigators are looking into complaints that ballots have been miscounted in Indiana's 5th District where the Republican challenger had been given a five-vote edge. (Page 1951)

Farm Report

A Congressional report on the farm economy discusses four alternative programs and the effect each would have. It recommended no one program over the others; instead it suggested a combination of the various approaches which might have the most desirable results. The alternatives: voluntary land retirement; improved production control; direct management of market supplies; direct payments without production controls. (Page 1954)

